UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3174
19 February 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 19 February 1993, at 11 a.m.

President:	Mr. SNOUSSI	(Morocco)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

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93-85216 3832V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 743 (1992) (S/25264 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I have also received a request dated 19 February 1993 from Ambassador Dragomir Djokić to address the Council. With the consent of the Council, I would propose to invite him to address the Council in the course of the discussion of the item before it.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 743 (1992), which is contained in document S/25264 and Corr.1.

(The President)

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25306, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/25062 and S/25288, letters dated 5 January and 12 February 1993, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25193, S/25218 and S/25237, letters dated 29 January and 1 and 3 February from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, the first addressed to the Secretary-General and the others to the President of the Security Council; S/25222, letter dated 26 January 1993 from the Permanent Representatives of France, Spain and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/25246, letter dated 5 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Croatia, on whom I now call.

Mr. NOBILO (Croatia): My Government is grateful for the opportunity to express the official position of the Republic of Croatia regarding prolongations of the United Nations peace operation on its territory.

I have instructions from my Government to support the Secretary-General's proposals for the provisional extension of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) up to 31 March 1993. This will provide enough time for substantial negotiations concerning all the aspects of the UNPROFOR operation and for full implementation of the Vance plan.

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

I should like to refer to my letter dated 12 February 1993 (S/25288) to the Secretary-General and stress once again the basic elements on which future United Nations operations in the Republic of Croatia must be based: complete demilitarization of the United Nations protected areas and "pink zones"; voluntary return of the refugees; control of Croatian international borders; confidence-building measures as a part of the process of reintegration of these areas into the Croatian State and its society; and protection of the rights of national minorities and other human rights.

The Republic of Croatia is prepared to implement Security Council resolution 802 (1993) as a first step in the demilitarization process that will be fully established through the implementation of Security Council resolutions 762 (1992) and 769 (1992) and that will enable a comprehensive political solution to be reached under the auspices of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Croatia finds that Security Council resolutions have been of crucial importance in stopping the aggression against my country. The Croatian Government is fully confident that the future decisions of this body will give added credibility to the UNPROFOR operation and provide it with effective mechanisms so that it can attain all the goals foreseen in the Vance plan. We firmly believe that international guarantees for the implementation of Security Council resolutions are of the utmost importance in bringing peace to the Republic of Croatia, as well as to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with the decision taken earlier in the meeting, I now invite Ambassador Dragomir Djokić to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. DJOKIĆ: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has accepted the Vance plan, fully supports it and has invested efforts in its complete

(Mr. Djokić)

implementation. For its part, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has fulfilled all obligations undertaken under the plan, but further efforts need to be made so that other signatories do likewise.

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) peace-keeping operation has proved to be justified, thus creating the basic prerequisites for all open questions to be resolved. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia supports further engagement of UNPROFOR and most energetically demands that Security Council resolution 802 (1993) be fully implemented.

Our position from the very beginning has been that a durable and just solution can be reached only through dialogue between the parties directly involved; mutual respect for each other's interests; cooperation; and political goodwill.

We shall also continue in the future to contribute our share to the Geneva Conference, despite the unjust and one-sided sanctions imposed on us that punish one nation as a whole, which we expect to be lifted soon.

I should like to recall that the Vance plan states:

"Subject to the Council's agreement, the operation would remain in Yugoslavia until a negotiated settlement of the conflict was achieved." (S/23280, annex III, para. 5)

The Secretary-General was even more specific in his report of 4 February 1992, saying:

"the United Nations force would not be withdrawn before an overall political solution was found to the Yugoslav crisis". (S/23513, para. 9 (a))

Those goals have not yet been attained. Negotiations on an overall settlement of the Yugoslav crisis are under way within the framework of the International Conference, and peace is conditio sine qua non for its success.

(Mr. Djokić)

Moreover, the local population in Krajina needs United Nations protection now more than ever. For those reasons, the continuing role of UNPROFOR is essential at this crucial juncture.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had expected UNPROFOR's mandate to be extended for a longer period of time rather than a short interim period. The basic goals of UNPROFOR's mandate are to protect the local population in the protected areas and to create the conditions of peace and security required for the negotiation of an overall settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The responsibility for the non-implementation of the peace plan rests primarily with the Republic of Croatia. Only recently, it launched a major military attack against the United Nations protected areas. It has violated cease-fires on many occasions, infiltrated terrorist groups in protected areas and amassed troops on the borders of those protected areas.

The aggression of the Croatian Army against the United Nations protected areas, UNPROFOR and the Serbian civilian population represents a flagrant violation of the Vance peace plan and relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular 724 (1991) and 762 (1992). That has seriously jeopardized the credibility of the United Nations and its ability to defend the population and ensure peace in the territories under its protection.

Furthermore, the Republic of Croatia has totally ignored the latest Security Council resolution, 802 (1993), as well as the presidential statement of 27 January 1993 and the demands contained therein - to immediately cease all military activities and withdraw its army to the original positions.

Quite to the contrary, it has continued and stepped up its aggression against the United Nations protected areas. President Tudjman has even gone so far as to publicly announce, on 31 January 1993, that Croatian troops would go ahead and capture more of the United Nations protected areas.

(Mr. Djokić)

In that regard, we should like to recall that the Security Council has undertaken to consider

"... what further steps might be necessary to ensure that resolution 802 (1993) and other relevant Security Council resolutions are fully implemented." (S/PV.3165, p. 3)

These developments and permanent armed provocations on the part of the Republic of Croatia are a serious impediment to the complete demilitarization of the protected areas and to the implementation of the peace plan.

The Serbs, in those parts of the protected areas controlled by the Croatian Army, have been subjected to a systematic "ethnic cleansing" that is proportionately huge in relation to the size of the territory and the number of people it affected. In the region of Western Slavonia alone, 180 villages were completely "cleansed" of Serbs, and, as a result, more than 200,000 Serbs from Croatia sought refuge in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The present policy of the Republic of Croatia is undoubtedly a major obstacle to finding a peaceful and durable solution to the Yugoslav crisis. The victims of that policy are no longer only the Serbs but also the Muslims and United Nations forces.

Since the outbreak of the conflict, 60,000 soldiers of the Croatian Army have been actively engaged in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as has been confirmed by the United Nations Secretary-General, the Security Council and the General Assembly. Croatia has, in effect, expanded its authority to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina under its occupation.

(Mr. Djokić)

The Republic of Croatia has openly violated the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 713 (1991). Croatian territory is also being used for channeling arms to the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That has been documented and reported by the world media, many independent observers and international organizations.

The letter from the President of the Republic of Croatia of 9 December 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council raised very serious concerns about the intentions and willingness of the Republic of Croatia to honour the commitments it has accepted under the Vance peace plan. In that letter, President Tudjman even proposed that the United Nations take:

"efficient steps resembling those taken in the case of aggression against Kuwait and with regard to the present-day situation in Somalia"

and that it:

"Authorize UNPROFOR to implement its task within the scope of the Vance Plan, if necessary by use of force as well". (S/24914, para. 6)

Such positions represent a clear departure from the commitments and obligations arising from the Vance peace plan. The proposals contained in the letter are fraught with grave dangers for the situation on the ground and could jeopardize further implementation of the peace plan.

The present policy pursued by Croatia is not only in contravention of the peace plan but also in defiance of the relevant Security Council resolutions. It should be recalled that President Tudjman, in his letter addressed to the Secretary-General of 6 February 1992, accepted fully and unconditionally the Secretary-General's concept and plan which defined the conditions and areas where the United Nations forces were to be deployed. Security Council resolution 740 (1992) of 7 February 1992 noted that President Tudjman's

(Mr. Djokić)

unconditional acceptance removed an obstacle to the deployment of the peace-keeping operation.

The role of the Republic of Croatia has often been ignored in the deliberations within the Security Council, and its responsibility brushed aside. As a result, the Republic of Croatia has been further encouraged to persist with its policy and practice of aggression, which has been particularly evident lately.

The Security Council can no longer let such a policy stand without firm response. It has an obligation to take all appropriate measures, including those envisaged by Chapter VII, to make the Republic of Croatia honour the United Nations Charter and all relevant Security Council resolutions. If the Security Council truly seeks to contribute to the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, it should take an impartial attitude towards all parties to the conflict. If it fails to do so, the Security Council would embolden Croatia's apparent aspirations to the military option and make a peaceful solution ever so distant and unattainable.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has declared on many occasions that it will strictly abide by all the commitments that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia assumed internationally. Therefore, it shall respect and fulfil the rights and obligations the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia undertook vis-à-vis the territories of Krajina that have been placed, within the framework of the United Nations peace-keeping operation, under the protection of the world Organization.

Although the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that UNPROFOR's mandate should have been extended for a year, we support the proposal contained in the draft resolution that, for the time being, it be extended until 31 March 1993. We hope that the necessary conditions will be created in

(Mr. Djokić)

the meantime so that UNPROFOR's mandate can be further extended, as envisioned by the plan, until a comprehensive and peaceful solution is reached.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): For the past year, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has striven to keep the peace in Croatia under extremely difficult conditions. For the past six months, it has, in a hostile environment, protected the delivery of humanitarian aid in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the past few weeks, it has been preventing the conflict from spreading to Macedonia. Thus, the tasks assigned it are immense. Regrettably, the results are not always up to the expectations of the international community. This mixed picture should not allow us to forget the exemplary manner in which the men committed to this operation have been serving. They do so every day at the risk of losing their lives. For our part, we are well aware of the dangers, since the French contingent has lost 12 members. I would therefore, at the outset, like to pay a tribute to the courage of all the Blue Helmets of UNPROFOR and to the memory of those who have fallen.

These preliminary comments illustrate why the security of the forces were a priority consideration to my Government when the question of renewing the mandate of UNPROFOR arose. The tragic events of the past few weeks in Croatia have only strengthened our feeling that there is an overriding need to endow

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

this force with both the legal basis and the military means effectively to ensure its self-defence. We would have preferred that this be done on a lasting basis. Considering the circumstances, recognise that the six-week extension is the Council's only possible option. But even for a brief interim period, it was unthinkable to us that we extend the present mandate in its current form.

It was in that spirit that my delegation proposed a substantive and ambitious draft resolution that places UNPROFOR within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter and suggested a series of concrete measures aimed at ensuring greater stability in the areas where UNPROFOR is deployed. As to the reference to Chapter VII, I reiterate once again that our idea is not to change the nature of the Force, that is, to move from peace-keeping to peacemaking. We are moved solely by considerations of preventive security. Indeed, this is reflected in the text of the draft resolution before us.

The French delegation hopes that the Council will take this approach and do so unanimously. It would thus provide a striking demonstration of its solidarity with the soldiers of UNPROFOR who are implementing the its decisions in the field. At the same time, it would send to the parties concerned a signal of its determination to ensure respect for its decisions.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): My Government has been deeply concerned at the continuation of fighting in various parts of the former Yugoslavia and in particular at the flare-up recently in Croatia. I would also like to express the deep distress my Government felt at the losses that the United Nations forces have sustained, and in particular those sustained by the French contingent, which have been of a very serious nature.

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

In our view, it is absolutely essential that we establish respect and protection for United Nations forces in the field. That, in our view, fully justifies the changes contained in this draft resolution. These, as the French Ambassador says, are designed for self-defence only and in our view are entirely justified.

We strongly support also the new political remit that the Secretary-General has suggested, and that the Council has endorsed, giving to the two Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. It is essential that we get full compliance with Security Council resolution 802 (1993), so far as concerns both the withdrawal of Croatian forces and the re-placing under United Nations control of the heavy weapons.

We hope that the talks that Mr. Vance and Lord Owen are now undertaking will lead to progress on the implementation of the Vance plan, and within that to the definition of the status of Krajina within the Republic of Croatia - and I shall repeat that phrase, because I heard from one of the participants in this debate words that seemed to imply something different - within the Republic of Croatia.

Increasingly, links between what is going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina and what is going on in Croatia are becoming evident. It is as urgent to make progress in the peace process for Bosnia and Herzegovina as in implementing the Vance plan in Croatia. I feel that the next mandate renewal, which we have foreseen for the end of March, will be a crucial moment in that respect.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

Finally, I should say that my Government strongly supports the proposal by the Secretary-General to put the financing of all United Nations peace-keeping operations in the former Yugoslavia on a full United Nations basis of assessed contributions. In our view, peace-keeping is a responsibility of the whole international community, and it should be financed by the whole membership of the United Nations.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Since this is my delegation's first Council statement this month, I should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on the courteous and effective manner in which you have been conducting our debates. We wish also to express our appreciation to Ambassador Hatano of Japan for the way in which he guided the work of the Council in January.

We wish also to thank the Secretary-General for his excellent report (S/25264), which in a clear, balanced and realistic manner describes the difficult situation faced by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) both in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the report has been prepared shortly before the expiration of UNPROFOR's mandate, as provided for in resolution 743 (1992).

On the whole, my delegation shares the views the Secretary-General sets out in his report. We are fully aware of the need for a sound basis on which to renew the mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We therefore support the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate for an interim period ending 31 March 1993. It is our firm hope that before that date there will be a positive result to the ongoing talks, led by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, between

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

representatives of the Republic of Croatia and of the Serb populations living in the United Nations protected areas and in adjacent areas in Croatia.

We remind the parties of their responsibilities in this regard and of the need fully to implement all provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions, including the most recent, resolution 802 (1993). We also stress that they must cooperate fully with Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, whose tireless efforts we support without reservation, in quickly reaching an agreement on full compliance with the United Nations peace plan in Croatia.

In the meantime, and in view of the recent tragic events in Croatia, my Government shares the concern of the Secretary-General and of countries whose troops are deployed in Croatia. We support the decision to take the measures necessary to ensure the safety of UNPROFOR personnel and to ensure complete respect by all parties for the Force as it carries out its mandate.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is no less disturbing; this is reflected in the report of the Secretary-General. The people of that Republic are subjected to terrible hardships, now exacerbated by the unacceptable obstacles and restrictions imposed by various parties on the delivery of humanitarian assistance by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees with the assistance of UNPROFOR.

We state firmly that the relevant Security Council resolutions must be implemented with respect to UNPROFOR's mandate and operations in that Republic. The parties, and all others concerned, must at all times respect the unrestricted freedom of movement of UNPROFOR forces. The infantry batallion provided by Spain as a contribution to UNPROFOR efforts in Bosnia

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

and Herzegovina is performing commendable work in protecting convoys carrying humanitarian assistance, and doing so in extremely difficult and dangerous conditions.

My Government wants to state very clearly that the safety of UNPROFOR personnel must be fully guaranteed, and we must condemn any action or measures taken by parties to the conflict that could obstruct or endanger the delivery of humanitarian assistance, including threats to the lives of those who are attempting to help the civilian population. That has been reiterated in several Security Council statements in recent weeks.

Finally, we agree with the Secretary-General's recommendation that, from the next renewal of the mandate of UPROFOR following this interim period, all UNPROFOR activities in the former Yugoslavia be financed by assessed contributions from all Member States in line with the scale of assessments established for peace-keeping operations.

For all those reasons, we shall vote in favour of draft resolution S/25306.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, Sir, please allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for February. I am confident that, with your rich experience, wisdom and talent, you will successfully guide the work of the Security Council this month.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

I should like to take this opportunity also to thank His Excellency Mr. Yoshio Hatano, Permanent Representative of Japan, for his outstanding performance as he guided us through the work of the Security Council last month.

Almost a year has passed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 743 (1992), which established the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia. It is regrettable, however, that we have been witnessing there an escalation of the armed conflict and a sharp increase in the number of displaced persons. At the same time, humanitarian relief efforts are still being obstructed. This leads to huge losses of life and property, and to greater suffering. We should like to express our deep concern about this situation.

The Chinese delegation appreciates the further report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 743 (1992), and agrees to the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate for an interim period terminating on 31 March 1993. We hope that during this period the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia will conduct full consultations with all parties concerned and will make early progress on a negotiated political solution to the issue of the former Yugoslavia. At the same time we are much concerned at the fact that the security of UNPROFOR's personnel is under constant threat. We also understand the concerns expressed by the troop-contributing States in that regard.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

We therefore support the Secretary-General's taking appropriate measures, in consultation with the force-contributing States, to strengthen the security of UNPROFOR personnel. Meanwhile, we urge all the parties to the conflict to cooperate with UNPROFOR to ensure the safety of its personnel.

Proceeding from the above statement and considering that the sponsor country has repeatedly stated that the purpose of invoking Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter in this draft resolution is to take measures to increase appropriately UNPROFOR's self-defence capability, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of this draft resolution. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that UNPROFOR in Croatia is a peace-keeping operation, and Chapter VII was not invoked either in resolution 743 (1992) or in subsequent resolutions relating to this matter. Nor does the current report of the Secretary-General contain any such request. With regard to the safety of UNPROFOR personnel, the question can be settled through the expanded concept of self-defence and rules of engagement and by taking other appropriate measures without invoking Chapter VII. We should therefore like to express our reservations on invoking Chapter VII in this draft resolution. We should like to put on record the understanding that the practice of invoking Chapter VII in this draft resolution is an exceptional case and therefore does not constitute a precedent for future United Nations peace-keeping operations.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The adoption by the Security Council of the draft resolution before it to temporarily extend the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) should, in the opinion of the Russian Federation, send a clear signal to all those involved in the conflict in the territory of former Yugoslavia to the effect that the United Nations is firmly opposed to any

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

continuation of hostilities and further bloodshed, and that it favours the prompt achievement of a peace settlement.

In this connection we believe that the demand contained in the draft resolution for the rapid implementation of resolution 802 (1993) and other resolutions previously adopted by the Security Council is extremely important. It is important to recall that resolution 802 (1993) clearly states that it is essential not only that an end be put to hostilities on the part of the Croatian armed forces in the United Nations protected areas or in proximity to them but also that Croatian armed forces be withdrawn from those regions. Naturally, it is essential that the remaining provisions of the United Nations peace plan in Croatia be observed and complied with by all parties.

It has been our constant endeavour to exert a balanced influence on all those involved in the Yugoslav crisis, in the interest of its prompt settlement. We believe that, should Croatia fail to meet the demands contained in resolution 802 (1993) and other Security Council resolutions, sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter should also be applied to Croatia.

The Russian delegation would also like to point out that an important prerequisite for maintaining United Nations forces in their place of deployment is that of ensuring their safety. It is extremely distressing that among the service personnel of the contingents of UNPROFOR, including its Russian members, there have been casualties. It is therefore very timely and appropriate that the draft resolution contains provisions intended to prevent any attempts on the lives of those who wear the blue helmet or other representatives of the United Nations responsible for carrying out an extremely noble humanitarian mission.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Throughout this entire conflict in former Yugoslavia, the Russian Federation has been actively involved in efforts by the international community to achieve a peace settlement. Russia intends to do everything necessary to ensure that the current stage in the negotiations headed by the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva process, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, leads to a successful outcome that will enable us, as soon as possible, to determine the role of United Nations forces with respect to the conditions of such a settlement.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/25306.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 807 (1993).

There are no further speakers inscribed on the list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

UNITED
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PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3175
22 February 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 22 February 1993, at 11 a.m.

President:	Mr. SNOUSSI	(Morocco)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. DE ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-85222 3837V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12 noon.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE PROSECUTION OF PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW COMMITTED IN THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

LETTER DATED 10 FEBRUARY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/25266)

LETTER DATED 16 FEBRUARY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ITALY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/25300)

LETTER DATED 18 FEBRUARY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SWEDEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/25307)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

(The President)

Members of the Council have before them the following documents: S/25266, letter dated 10 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25300, letter dated 16 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/25307, letter dated 18 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Sweden to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25221, report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia; document S/25274, letter dated 9 February 1993 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council; and document S/25240, letter dated 2 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Lastly, members of the Council have before them document S/25314, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): Mr. President, allow me to begin by congratulating you on the able and effective manner in which you have been conducting the work of the Security Council. Allow me, also, to express our recognition to Ambassador Yoshio Hatano of Japan for his accomplishments as President of the Council for the month of January.

I have been instructed to make the following statement in connection with the draft resolution we are about to adopt.

The serious violations of international humanitarian law which have been taking place in the territory of the former Yugoslavia have outraged the conscience of humanity. It is with deep sorrow and concern that the Brazilian Government, and Brazilian society at large, have received the repeated news of unspeakable atrocities committed within the context of this senseless conflict on European soil, which must be brought to an end.

The information gathered by the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 780 (1992) and by the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights have provided substantial evidence of grave breaches of humanitarian law being committed on a massive scale and in a systematic fashion. These include reports of mass killings, torture, rape and the unacceptable practices that are referred to by the equally unacceptable expression "ethnic cleansing".

The international community cannot allow this to continue or to go unpunished. These grave breaches of the most elementary norms of humanity must be treated as what in fact they are: criminal acts, crimes against women and children and other defenceless victims, but also, in the most proper sense of the expression, crimes against humanity. A cry for justice breaks from every heart, and that cry cannot go unheeded.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

Brazil favours strong action to ensure the full ascertainment of the truth about each of the cases of war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Convinced that effective prosecution and punishment of the perpetrators of these crimes is a matter of high moral duty, Brazil supports the establishment of an international criminal tribunal to bring to justice the individuals found to be responsible for such abominable acts. It is in that spirit that we will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Security Council.

We will support, and we stand ready to contribute to, the work to be carried out by the Secretary-General in elaborating specific proposals and options for the implementation of the decision to be taken today.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

It is of particular importance that the international tribunal to be established rest on a solid legal foundation, which will ensure the effectiveness of its actions. To that end, we believe that in dealing with many of the issues at hand, it should prove useful to draw on the studies and discussions that over the years have been undertaken within the United Nations on the exceedingly complex legal question of an international criminal jurisdiction.

As regards the definition of the best method for the establishment of an ad hoc international criminal tribunal, it should be borne in mind that the authority of the Security Council is not self-constituted but originates from a delegation of powers by the whole membership of the Organization. It is never too much to recall that the Security Council, in the exercise of its responsibilities, acts on behalf of the States Members of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter.

Just as the authority of the Council does not spring from the Council itself but derives from the fact that certain responsibilities have been conferred upon it by all the Members of the United Nations, the powers of the Council cannot be created, recreated or reinterpreted creatively by decisions of the Council itself, but must be based invariably on specific Charter provisions.

It is precisely because the Council exercises a delegated responsibility in a field as politically sensitive as the maintenance of international peace and security that the task of interpreting its competences calls for extreme caution, in particular when invoking language of Chapter VII of the Charter. Especially when the Council is being increasingly called upon to fully exercise the considerable powers entrusted to it, the definition of such

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

powers must be construed strictly on the basis of the text of the relevant Charter provisions. To go beyond that would be legally inconsistent and politically unwise.

The Security Council can and should play a strong and positive role in promoting the implementation of the various elements that would contribute to the peace efforts developed by the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. That role, however, can and should remain within the scope of the powers expressly granted to the Security Council in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

In this rapidly changing world, we consider it increasingly important to promote the rule of law in international relations by acting to ensure strict respect for the provisions of our Charter and other norms of international law.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation supports the thrust of the draft resolution before us and will therefore vote in favour.

Based on our understanding of the nature of the draft resolution before us, I should like to reiterate for the record that its expected adoption and my delegation's participation in it do not prejudge China's position on future Security Council actions on the subject.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/25314.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 808 (1993).

I shall now call on those members who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): When the first news and accounts of the atrocities committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia began to come in, the collective memory of our peoples had to relive the horror of times we had thought long past.

But there are lessons to be learned from history. Conditions have changed since the Second World War. The United Nations now has the responsibility of maintaining and restoring international peace and security. Indeed, through the Security Council, the United Nations has firmly committed itself to this cause in the former Yugoslavia since the adoption on 25 September 1991 of resolution 713 (1991).

The atrocities committed by all sides in the Yugoslav crisis have given rise to an intolerable situation which is fanning the flames of conflict and therefore constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

Prosecuting the guilty is necessary if we are to do justice to the victims and to the international community. Prosecuting the guilty will also send a clear message to those who continue to commit these crimes that they will be held responsible for their acts. And finally, prosecuting the guilty is, for the United Nations and particularly for the Security Council, a matter of doing their duty to maintain and restore peace.

It is with these considerations in mind that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs asked a group of jurists to draw up a report on setting up an

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

international criminal tribunal that could prosecute persons responsible for the serious violations of international humanitarian law that have been committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since the beginning of that State's process of dissolution. The report, which contains specific proposals for the establishment of such a tribunal, was concluded in record time - three weeks. It was made public by the French authorities and published as a Security Council document. The report concludes in particular that the creation of an international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia could be decided on by the Security Council within the framework of its powers under Chapter VII of the Charter to maintain or restore international peace and security.

France has endorsed this conclusion and has taken the initiative of proposing to the Security Council a draft resolution for its implementation.

By adopting unanimously resolution 808 (1993) in pursuance of this initiative, the Security Council has just taken a decision of major significance. For the first time in history, the United Nations will be setting up an international criminal jurisdiction - one that will be competent to try those who have committed serious violations of international humanitarian law in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We already know from the interim report of the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 780 (1992) and through the considerable evidence that has come in that these atrocities take many forms, from the systematic rape of women to the sinister practice of "ethnic cleansing" and wholesale massacres, and that they are committed in many parts of the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The Security Council has today taken the solemn decision that it will not allow these crimes to go unpunished and will not countenance their continuation.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

The tribunal that we have just decided to create should be established as soon as possible. It should be set up through a further decision of the Security Council under the provisions of Chapter VII, which establishes its competence in the maintenance and restoration of international peace and security.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

In that respect, we expect from the Secretary-General some concrete proposals of a practical nature that will allow our Council to respond to the urgency of the situation facing us. The results of all the efforts and contributions made by France and other countries and in other forums will be available to him. We have every confidence that Mr. Boutros-Ghali and his colleagues will succeed in this task, which is of such far-reaching significance.

We trust that the Security Council will then act with the authority and unanimity that it has just strikingly displayed in adopting resolution 808 (1993) in order to impose respect for the law.

Ms. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): There is an echo in this Chamber today. The Nuremberg Principles have been reaffirmed. We have preserved the long-neglected compact made by the community of civilized nations 48 years ago in San Francisco to create the United Nations and enforce the Nuremberg Principles.

The lesson that we are all accountable to international law may have finally taken hold in our collective memory. This will be no victor's tribunal. The only victor that will prevail in this endeavour is the truth. Unlike the world of the 1940s, international humanitarian law today is impressively codified, well understood, agreed upon and enforceable. The debates over the state of international law that so encumbered the Nuremberg Trials will not burden this tribunal.

The United States strongly supports the Council's adoption of today's historic resolution, which takes the first step in establishing an ad hoc tribunal to prosecute persons accused of war crimes and other serious violations of international humanitarian law in the territory of the former

(Ms. Albright, United States)

Yugoslavia. Virtually all of the parties that have examined this issue, including the General Assembly, the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the Commission of Experts established by Security Council resolution 780 (1992) have urged the creation of such a tribunal.

President Bill Clinton has long supported the establishment of a war-crimes tribunal at the United Nations to bring justice and deter further atrocities in the former Yugoslavia. Just 12 days ago, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, speaking on the President's behalf, explained why the United States believes that this and other actions are urgently required. As the Secretary said:

> "We cannot ignore the human toll. Serbian ethnic cleansing has been pursued through mass murders; systematic beatings and the rapes of Muslims and others; prolonged shellings of innocents in Sarajevo and elsewhere; forced displacement of entire villages; inhumane treatment of prisoners in the detention camps; and the blockading of relief to the sick and starving civilians. Atrocities have been committed by other parties as well. Our conscience revolts at the idea of passively accepting such brutality".

The Secretary also explained that there is another reason for urgent action now:

> "There is a broader imperative here. The world's response to the violence in the former Yugoslavia is an early and concrete test of how we will address the concerns of the ethnic and religious minorities in the post-cold-war period".

I quote from the Secretary again:

(Ms. Albright, United States)

"The events in the former Yugoslavia raise the questions of whether a State may address the rights of its minorities by eradicating those minorities to achieve ethnic purity. Bold tyrants and fearful minorities are watching to see whether ethnic cleansing is a policy the world will tolerate. If we hope to promote the spread of freedom, or if we hope to encourage the emergence of peaceful, multi-ethnic democracies, our answers must be a resounding 'no'".

The United States has so far submitted five reports to the Council pursuant to Security Council resolution 771 (1992), which contains substantiated information about the atrocities that have taken place in the former Yugoslavia. The Council's action today begins the process of establishing a war-crimes tribunal. We look forward to working with the Secretary-General to accomplish expeditiously his task of providing the Council with options for the statute and rules of procedure of such a tribunal.

Once the Secretary-General's report is received, we, along with the other members, will act quickly within the Council to establish a tribunal under Chapter VII. We will also, in cooperation with the United Nations, exert every effort to ensure that those individuals involved in these outrageous, heinous crimes are identified and held accountable for their actions, which so affront the world's collective conscience.

It is worthwhile recalling that the Nuremberg Principles on war crimes, crimes against the peace, and crimes against humanity were adopted by the General Assembly in 1948. By its action today, with resolution 808 (1993) the Security Council has shown that the will of this Organization can be exercised, even if it has taken nearly half a century for the wisdom of our

(Ms. Albright, United States)

earliest principles to take hold. I hope that it will not take another half century to achieve the peace and security that will render the hideous crimes we suspect have been committed strictly historical phenomena.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): We have been receiving for many months now continued reports of massive breaches of international humanitarian law and human rights in Bosnia. I want to mention in particular the abuse of women, the deliberate obstruction of humanitarian relief convoys, the forcible movements of population, the forcible surrender of property and the deliberate targeting of civilian populations.

There has been an outburst of anger at these shocking developments. All parties share responsibility for these breaches. We believe that the Serbs have been most culpable in these hideous practices, but we also believe that all such actions must be condemned; they must be investigated; and the perpetrators must be called to account, whoever is responsible, throughout the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Those who have perpetrated these shocking breaches of international humanitarian law should be left in no doubt that they will be held individually responsible for their actions.

We think it is vital that an international legal mechanism be established to bring those accused of war crimes, from whatever party to the conflict, to justice. Whatever mechanism is proposed to give effect to this resolution should reflect this and should have jurisdiction over all of the parties. We welcome the valuable work on possible mechanisms by the French and Italian legal experts and by Ambassador Corell and his colleagues of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This work is a valuable contribution to

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

the study by the Secretary-General, which we have requested in the resolution we have just adopted, of the most effective and feasible way of establishing a tribunal or a court.

The Secretary-General's task will not be easy. The Commission of Experts' interim report notes the difficulties of identifying the perpetrators of these crimes. It is vital that whatever court or tribunal is established be provided with the necessary evidence. The Commission must therefore be given adequate resources to continue its work, and the Secretary-General will need to take account of legal difficulties such as those I have mentioned in examining the options to put to this Council.

The court is, of course, an ad hoc legal framework to deal with war crimes committed only in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. In the longer term, we shall continue to support the study by the International Law Commission towards an international criminal court with general jurisdiction. We hope that the Secretary-General will be able to carry out his examination of the options for establishing a court as quickly as possible, consistent of course with a thorough examination of the many problems that the reports so far submitted have already identified. We look forward to his report to the Council in the near future and we recognize, of course, that a further resolution by this Council will be necessary once we have received the Secretary-General's report.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): Russia has pursued an unwavering course of putting an end to war crimes and cannot remain indifferent to the flagrant mass violations of international humanitarian law in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Murder, rape and "ethnic cleansing" must cease immediately, and the guilty - whatever their affiliation - must be duly punished.

We believe that the Security Council's adoption of a resolution deciding that an international tribunal shall be established for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia reflects the international community's will to exert its influence on all parties to the conflict in order to accelerate the peace process. The legal basis, status, composition and powers of the international tribunal and the modalities for its establishment and functioning will, as provided by the resolution, be decided by the Council subsequently, on the basis of a report on the subject by the Secretary-General. But even today the resolution should serve the purpose of bringing to their senses those who are ready to sacrifice for the sake of their political ambitions the lives and dignity of hundreds and thousands of totally innocent people.

Nor should we forget that violations of international humanitarian law are also taking place in the course of other armed conflicts. We believe that the Council's adoption of today's resolution will also serve as a serious warning to those guilty of mass crimes and flagrant violations of human rights in other parts of the world.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): When the Nuremberg war-crimes tribunal began its work on 18 October 1945, Judge Robert H. Jackson said that:

"This first trial of crimes against world peace places a very heavy responsibility upon us. The crimes we intend to condemn and punish were so deliberate and so devastating that our civilization cannot allow them to be ignored, for mankind could not survive a repetition of such crimes."

Not quite 48 years after the beginning of the Nuremberg trial, the world is horrified to see that organized barbarism - which, it was thought, was possible only in that age and could never be repeated - has come again, this time before the eyes of all mankind. And unlike the experience of the past, no one can escape his responsibility by claiming ignorance of the atrocities.

The policies of scorched earth, of what was initially called "ethnic cleansing" and today can more accurately be called "ethnic extermination", of concentration camps and of torture carried out by the Serb militias, who resort even to the savage policy of raping women as a technique of war, have attained sinister levels previously unthinkable to mankind. The authoritative testimony given by Mr. Cornelio Sommaruga, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and by Mr. David Andrews, former Foreign Minister of Ireland, on behalf of the European Community, among other equally qualified persons, leads to the clear conclusion that the rapes and other crimes have become an instrument of war, not a consequence of war.

Many organizations such as ICRC and the European Community have issued unequivocal statements on all the atrocities that have been and continue to be committed. Sarajevo remains a city under siege; the siege has lasted 10 terrible months; the cemetery cannot hold all the dead, and it is now

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

necessary to bury them in the sports stadium. The survivors bury their dead without ceremony.

Medical centres are the scene of daily horrors: the horror of individual tragedies and the horror of the collective tragedy of having no way and no materials to help the victims of these systematic killings.

In that connection, former United States Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger himself has suggested to world public opinion the names of the most prominent candidates for trial by the future war-crimes tribunal.

Venezuela believes that the resolution we have just adopted is consistent with the principles and the plan of action agreed to by all parties concerned in the context of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and that it is also consistent with the provisions of Article 41 of the Charter. My delegation congratulates the Government of France on its initiative in submitting to the Council the draft resolution adopted today.

We eagerly await the specific recommendations the Secretary-General will present to the Council, with a view to activating the machinery. If the purpose of that machinery is to be fully achieved, there must also be very substantial support for the Commission of Experts established by the Council, so that the Commission may complete its work of laying the foundations for the process to be advanced by the war-crimes tribunal.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): One of the most tragic, grim and alarming aspects of the bloody conflict in the former Yugoslavia is the planned and systematic mass violation of the most elementary norms of international humanitarian law. Since the end of the Second World War, Europe has not known such terrible upheavals or human-rights violations of such magnitude and such cruelty.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

It is the view of world public opinion that efforts to bring to justice those responsible for these crimes must be an integral part of a broad endeavour to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the entire conflict that is now savaging the former Yugoslavia.

As in 1945, the conscience of Europe and the world cannot allow those who have ordered and committed violations of international humanitarian law - and who cynically and blindly continue to do so - to escape justice.

The way the international community deals with questions relating to the events in the former Yugoslavia will leave a profound mark on the future of that part of Europe, and beyond. It will make either easier or more painful, or even impossible, the healing of the psychological wounds the conflict has inflicted upon peoples who for centuries have lived together in harmony and good-neighbourliness, regardless of what we may hear today from certain parties to the conflict. We cannot forget that the peoples, the ethnic communities and the national minorities of Central and Eastern Europe are watching us and following our work with close attention.

The results of our activities, whether positive or negative, our successes or our failures within the United Nations and the Security Council, will inevitably have repercussions and direct effects upon that entire part of the world and, I am convinced, elsewhere too.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

We consider that the Security Council's decision of last October to set up a Commission of Experts charged with studying and analysing information on the grave violations of international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia is of great importance. Information and reports from various sources confirm and strengthen our conviction that the gravity and massive nature of these violations constitute a threat to international peace and security. Consequently, there should be no doubt about the competence of the Security Council to deal with this matter. Resolution 808 (1993) contains a clear and unequivocal political message for those who are responsible and who are committing almost-unimaginable crimes.

Hungary is ready, when the time comes, to embark on the second stage of our work, which will be the report of the Secretary-General containing concrete proposals and options for the implementation of the resolution that the Council has solemnly adopted today.

Mr. YAÑEZ-BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): The Council has recently taken decisions of great import, but few deserve to be called "historic" as much as the resolution we have just adopted. Indeed, as the provisional report of the Commission of Experts established by Security Council resolution 780 (1992) clearly states, this is the first time the Security Council has decided to establish a tribunal to try those deemed responsible for grave violations of international humanitarian law perpetrated in an armed conflict - in this instance, the grave acts committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. In that provisional report, the Commission concludes that grave offences and other violations of international humanitarian law have been committed, including murder, "ethnic cleansing", mass killings, torture, rape, looting and destruction of civilian property, destruction of cultural and religious property and arbitrary detention.

(Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo, Spain)

We understand that some may harbour certain doubts about the competence of the Council to take this step, for it is a novel one. However, we do not share those doubts. We understand that this is a limited and precise action with the clear objective of restoring peace, which is perfectly in keeping with the competence of the Council. In fact, the Council is not attempting to establish any new jurisdictional or legislative framework of a permanent nature. It is not setting itself up as a permanent judge or legislator. It is only attempting to create an ad hoc mechanism that, by applying existing laws, will assign responsibility for acts committed in an ongoing conflict that has already been seen to threaten and undermine peace; a mechanism that contributes, by means of recourse to justice and punishment of the guilty, to restoring the peace and ensuring its maintenance, so as to deter the repetition of similar acts in the future.

For these reasons, the States members of the European Community have on various occasions declared themselves to be in favour of the establishment of an international criminal tribunal for the prosecution of those engaged in such grave misconduct.

Spain would have preferred the establishment of a criminal tribunal with universal jurisdiction, but it recognizes that to create one would have required more time than is now at our disposal if we wish to contribute to the early restoration of peace in the former Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, we are confident that this is the first step towards the future creation of an international, universal, permanent criminal jurisdiction, and we shall continue to support and promote the efforts towards this end now being made in other forums within this Organization.

(Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo, Spain)

While we are aware of the need to act swiftly in order that the establishment of an international criminal tribunal on the former Yugoslavia fulfils its dual objective of meting out justice and discouraging such grave violations in the future, we believe that this undertaking is so important and so sensitive that it is necessary to ensure the maximum respect for legal rigour in its functioning. We therefore fully support a two-stage process, such as the one we are initiating today, in which, following the adoption of a decision in principle, a thorough, detailed study is conducted so that the institution established will live up to the expectations of the international community and will meet all the requirements of full respect for international law. It is imperative that norms relating to human rights be respected, in particular the rights of defence. It is also essential to resolve difficult questions such as the nature of the sentences to be imposed, the places they are to be served, the statutes of the organs entrusted with the investigation and the indictment, the possibility of appealing the decisions of the tribunal and other questions of no less importance.

From the foregoing, it is clear that there is a tremendous amount of work to be done. We have no doubt that the Secretary-General, to whom we entrust this enormous task, will carry it out with his characteristic speed and effectiveness. In so doing he will have at his disposal some excellent studies that have already been done - and here I wish to mention those prepared by expert jurists from France and Italy and by an ad hoc Committee of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which have already been distributed as Security Council documents - and the full cooperation, I have no doubt, of all the States Members of the United Nations and those bodies competent in the field of international law that the Secretary-General deems it appropriate to consult. From this moment we shall await with great

(Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo, Spain)

interest the result of his labours, with its concrete proposals for the Council regarding the organization, operation and other points pertaining to the smooth functioning of the tribunal.

We have stated that the establishment of the tribunal will contribute, in our view, to the restoration and maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of justice and international law. At the same time, we wish to recall that it is not an attempt to supplant the bold efforts currently under way for the achievement of a just and lasting political agreement. Genuine peace must be founded on justice and, at the same time, a dialogue that ensures that the parties involved agree to the terms of any solution to the underlying problems of the former Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo, Spain)

For all those reasons we encourage the two Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference to continue their efforts to bring about agreement between all the parties to the conflict. We pledge our full cooperation to that end. Crimes such as those committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia should never remain unpunished. By its decision today, the Security Council has made that crystal clear. All those responsible for such acts are therefore warned of the international community's resolve.

Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand): It is indeed a momentous decision that the Council has taken this morning. We owe a great deal, Mr. President, to your skill and purpose in getting the resolution adopted. Our decision has not been taken lightly. No one can deny the enormity of the crimes, of which previous speakers have spoken very eloquently. No one can deny the deep significance of the issues that must guide the Council in its follow-up to its decision today.

New Zealand has long supported the principle of international criminal jurisdiction. Therefore, we stand ready with others to offer a contribution to the Secretary-General's upcoming important work on the basis of which the Council will take a decision about the further vital matter of the actual tribunal machinery for the territory of the former Republic of Yugoslavia. We believe that it is absolutely essential that the Council, having taken this significant decision today, proceed with purpose and resolve to translate the decision into practical and effective results on the basis of the Secretary-General's proposal; in our opinion, the momentum must not be allowed to diminish.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of my country.

My country has just participated responsibly and following its conscience in the adoption of the resolution, which confirms the will of the Security Council not to allow to go unpunished all the horrible crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina that we have been hearing about for several months. Not content with carrying out a disgraceful genocide, the Serbs have systematically perpetrated a whole range of atrocities, torture and violence, all of them totally inadmissible, acts and practices that we had thought belonged to a bygone age.

In establishing the principle of a war crimes tribunal, the Council is responding to the unanimous wish of the international community, which for almost two years has been deploring and condemning the acts in question and strongly calling for punishment and action.

The step we have taken is serious. Until yesterday the crimes continued unabated. Today the criminals know they will be pursued and punished. This warning is important with regard to those who have respected no moral values; it will surely deter those who are afraid only of force. Let us hope that our action will be followed by deterrent steps. Perhaps it will then finally be understood in the former Yugoslavia that resolutions are passed to be respected and that human life is to be safeguarded and protected.

I hardly need repeat our congratulations to the French delegation on its valuable contribution to the establishment of peace and harmony. I hope that the historic action we have just taken will mark the beginning of a return to wisdom in a region that has suffered too much death and upheaval.

I now resume my functions as President.

(The President)

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3176
24 February 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 24 February 1993, at 4.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. SNOUSSI	(Morocco)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. DE ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. ZHANG Yan
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. GREY
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

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The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council, having heard a report from the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, is concerned that the present opportunity to reach a negotiated settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be allowed to slip. It endorses fully the statement by the President of the United

(The President)

States and the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 23 February, calling on the leaders of the parties involved in the peace talks on Bosnia and Herzegovina to come to New York immediately to resume discussions with a view to the early conclusion of an agreement to end the conflict. The Council urges these leaders to respond quickly and positively to that call, and stands ready to give its full support to the efforts of the Co-Chairmen to bring the talks to a successful conclusion."

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3177
25 February 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 25 February 1993, at 4.15 p.m.

President:	Mr. SNOUSSI	(Morocco)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. DE ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. ZHANG Yan
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. WOOD
	United States of America	Mr. GREY
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-85263 0123V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council, having received a report from the Secretary-General, recalls all its relevant resolutions and its statements of 25 January 1993 (S/25162) and 17 February 1993 (S/25302) concerning the provision of humanitarian relief in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is deeply concerned that, in spite of its repeated

(The President)

demands, relief efforts continue to be impeded by Serb paramilitary units, especially in the eastern part of the country, namely in the enclaves of Srebrenica, Cerska, Gorazde and Zepa.

"The Security Council deplores the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina at a time when discussions are to resume with a view to reaching a just and durable agreement to end the conflict. It regards the blockade of relief efforts as a serious impediment to a negotiated settlement in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the efforts of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. It notes with concern that the measures taken by Serb paramilitary units to interdict humanitarian convoys, in flagrant violation of relevant Security Council resolutions, expose the personnel of UNPROFOR and UNHCR as well as other humanitarian organizations to physical harm.

(The President)

"The deliberate impeding of the delivery of food and humanitarian relief essential for the survival of the civilian population in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes a violation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and the Security Council is committed to ensuring that individuals responsible for such acts are brought to justice.

"The Security Council strongly condemns once again the blocking of humanitarian convoys that has impeded the delivery of humanitarian supplies. It reiterates its demand that the Bosnian parties grant immediate and unimpeded access for humanitarian convoys and fully comply with the Security Council's decisions in this regard. The Security Council expresses its strong support for the use, in full coordination with the United Nations and in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, of humanitarian air drops in isolated areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that are in critical need of humanitarian supplies and cannot be reached by ground convoys. It reaffirms its firm commitment to the full implementation of the humanitarian relief programme in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"The Security Council remains actively seized of the matter and continues its consideration of further steps, in accordance with its relevant resolutions."

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3178
26 February 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 26 February 1993, at 7.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. SNOUSSI	(Morocco)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. DE ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. ZHANG Yan
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. MOLNAR
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. NIAZ
	Russian Federation	Mr. SIDOROV
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. WOOD
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO

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93-85294 3849V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.30 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

AN AGENDA FOR PEACE: PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, PEACEMAKING AND PEACE-KEEPING

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO THE STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE SUMMIT MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 31 JANUARY 1992 (S/24111)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has continued its examination of the Secretary-General's report entitled 'An Agenda for Peace' (S/24111).

"The Security Council welcomes the observations contained in 'An Agenda for Peace' concerning the question of humanitarian assistance and its relationship to peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building, in particular those contained in paragraphs 29, 40 and 56 to 59. It notes that in some particular circumstances there may be a close relationship between acute needs for humanitarian assistance and threats to international peace and security.

"In this respect, the Security Council notes the Secretary-General's assessment that the impartial provision of humanitarian assistance could be of critical importance in preventive diplomacy.

"Recalling its statement on fact-finding in connection with 'An Agenda for Peace' (S/24872), the Council recognizes the importance of humanitarian concerns in conflict situations, and thus recommends that

(The President)

the humanitarian dimension should be incorporated in the planning and dispatching of fact-finding missions. It also recognizes the need to include this aspect in connection with information-gathering and analysis, and encourages Member States concerned to provide the Secretary-General and the Governments concerned with relevant humanitarian information.

"The Security Council notes with concern the incidence of humanitarian crises, including mass displacements of population, becoming or aggravating threats to international peace and security. In this connection, it is important to include humanitarian considerations and indicators within the context of early-warning information capacities as referred to in paragraphs 26 and 27 of an 'Agenda for Peace'. The Council emphasizes the role of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs in coordinating the activities of the various agencies and functional offices of the United Nations. It believes that this capacity should be utilized systematically at a pre-emergency phase to facilitate planning for action to assist governments in averting crises that could affect international peace and security.

"The Security Council notes the on-going and constructive collaboration between the United Nations and various regional arrangements and organizations, within their respective areas of competence, in identifying and addressing humanitarian emergencies, in order to solve crises in a manner appropriate to each specific situation. The Council also notes the important role which is being played by non-governmental organizations, in close cooperation with the United Nations, in the provision of humanitarian assistance in emergency

(The President)

situations around the world. The Council commends this cooperation and invites the Secretary-General to further explore ways in which this cooperation can be advanced in order to enhance the capacity of the United Nations to prevent and respond to emergency situations.

"The Council expresses concern about the increased incidence of deliberate obstruction of delivery of humanitarian relief and violence against humanitarian personnel, as well as misappropriation of humanitarian assistance, in many parts of the world, in particular in the former Yugoslavia, Iraq and Somalia where the Council has called for secure access to affected populations for the purpose of providing humanitarian assistance. The Council stresses the need for adequate protection of personnel involved in humanitarian operations, in accordance with relevant norms and principles of international law. The Council believes that this matter requires urgent attention.

"The Security Council believes that humanitarian assistance should help establish the basis for enhanced stability through rehabilitation and development. The Council thus notes the importance of adequate planning in the provision of humanitarian assistance in order to improve prospects for rapid improvement of the humanitarian situation. It also notes, however, that humanitarian considerations may become or continue to be relevant during periods in which the results of peacemaking and peace-keeping efforts are beginning to be consolidated. The Council thus recognizes the importance of ensuring a smooth transition from relief to development, and notes that the provision of coordinated humanitarian assistance is among the basic peace-building tools available to the Secretary-General. In particular, it fully endorses the

(The President)

Secretary-General's observations in paragraph 58 of 'An Agenda for Peace' regarding the problem of land mines, and invites him to address this as a matter of special concern.

"The Security Council intends to continue its consideration of the Secretary-General's report, as indicated in the President's statement of 29 October 1992 (S/24728)."

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3179
2 March 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 2 March 1993, at 4 p.m.

President:	Mr. O'BRIEN	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ-BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-85306 0124V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.30 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of March, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of all the members of the Council, to my predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Ahmed Sounni, Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations, for the services he rendered to the Council as its President during February. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to him for all his work and for the great diplomatic skill, unfailing courtesy and good humour that he was able to bring to the conduct of the Council's business last month. We thank him very much.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION CONCERNING WESTERN SAHARA

REPORT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/25170)

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation concerning Western Sahara, which is contained in document S/25170.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25340, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now. There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 809 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian delegation is pleased to see you Sir, as President of the Council for this month. We extend to you our full support in your complex work.

We are also grateful, Sir, to your predecessor, Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi, for his outstanding work in guiding the Council's business last month.

The Russian Federation has continually supported the efforts of the United Nations to provide for a just solution to the problem of Western Sahara, on the basis of respect for the rights of the people of Western Sahara, including the right to self-determination. The Russian delegation is in favour of the speedy holding of the referendum, under the aegis of the United Nations, and opposes delays in holding it, since this would not be in keeping with the interests of the peoples of the region and of the world

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

community as a whole, and would create uncertainty about the issue of the continued presence in Western Sahara of United Nations personnel.

In our view, there is a need to take measures that will lead to mutually acceptable solutions and move forward the settlement process, which has become bogged down, and to do so on the basis of appropriate decisions of the Security Council.

We believe that the resolution we have just adopted, a reaffirmation of the Council's previous resolutions, means among other things, a reaffirmation of their provisions about support for the Secretary-General's efforts to organize, with monitoring by the United Nations, a referendum on self-determination for the people of Western Sahara, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation is particularly pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the Council's meetings this month. We reiterate our complete readiness to assist you in every way possible.

We are also particularly pleased to express our appreciation of the very coridial and very able guidance of the Security Council last month by Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi of Morocco.

My country attaches the utmost importance to the process of self-determination in Western Sahara. This stems from our systematic support for the process of decolonization, in whose framework this item belongs and which constitutes one of the most commendable achievements of the United Nations.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Venezuela has followed closely the efforts of the United Nations to implement the Settlement Plan agreed by the parties. We have supported the good offices mission entrusted to the Secretary-General, and we are participating actively in the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

Venezuela shares the international community's concern, reiterated in the resolution we have just adopted, over the delays and difficulties experienced so far in completing the process successfully. The successive reports of the Secretary-General have identified the existing problems and the initiatives he and his Special Representative have taken to resolve them. We particularly congratulate the Secretary-General on the discharge of his responsibilities, and we hope that he will continue his efforts to achieve agreed solutions that are mutually satisfactory to the parties on all of those matters that still require his good offices.

In deciding to vote in favour of the draft resolution, the Government of Venezuela attached the greatest importance to the fact that it reflects a meeting of minds of the members of the Council on how to proceed quickly - this year, if possible - to hold a referendum for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara. We wish to emphasize our understanding that any agreement making that possible should be based on continuing consultations with the parties and therefore on their agreement. That is a basic principle that should govern the solution of any international dispute submitted to the United Nations.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

In this context, Venezuela hopes for a just and equitable soluton to all the outstanding matters, through an exercise of transparent good offices, guaranteeing the parties and the international community that the referendum will be objective in all its aspects, that its results will serve as a solid and permanent basis for peace in the region and that, to that end, it will give free expression to the will of the population of Western Sahara.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

The Government of Venezuela, aware of the importance in this context of the period of consultations that is now beginning, completely supports the appeal made to both parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the Settlement Plan, on the understanding that this is the only available and agreed basis that can serve as a framework for this exercise. If difficulties persist, Venezuela would not rule out the possibility of other mediation mechanisms being explored. In particular, Venezuela would be prepared to participate, if the Secretary-General were to so decide, in a group of friendly countries whose assistance might be deemed useful by the Secretary-General - in consultation with and with the consent of the parties - in helping to overcome any difficulties that might jeopardize the implementation of the Settlement Plan.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Venezuela for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.